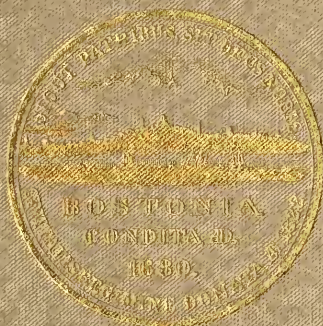


FOURTH OF JULY ORATION

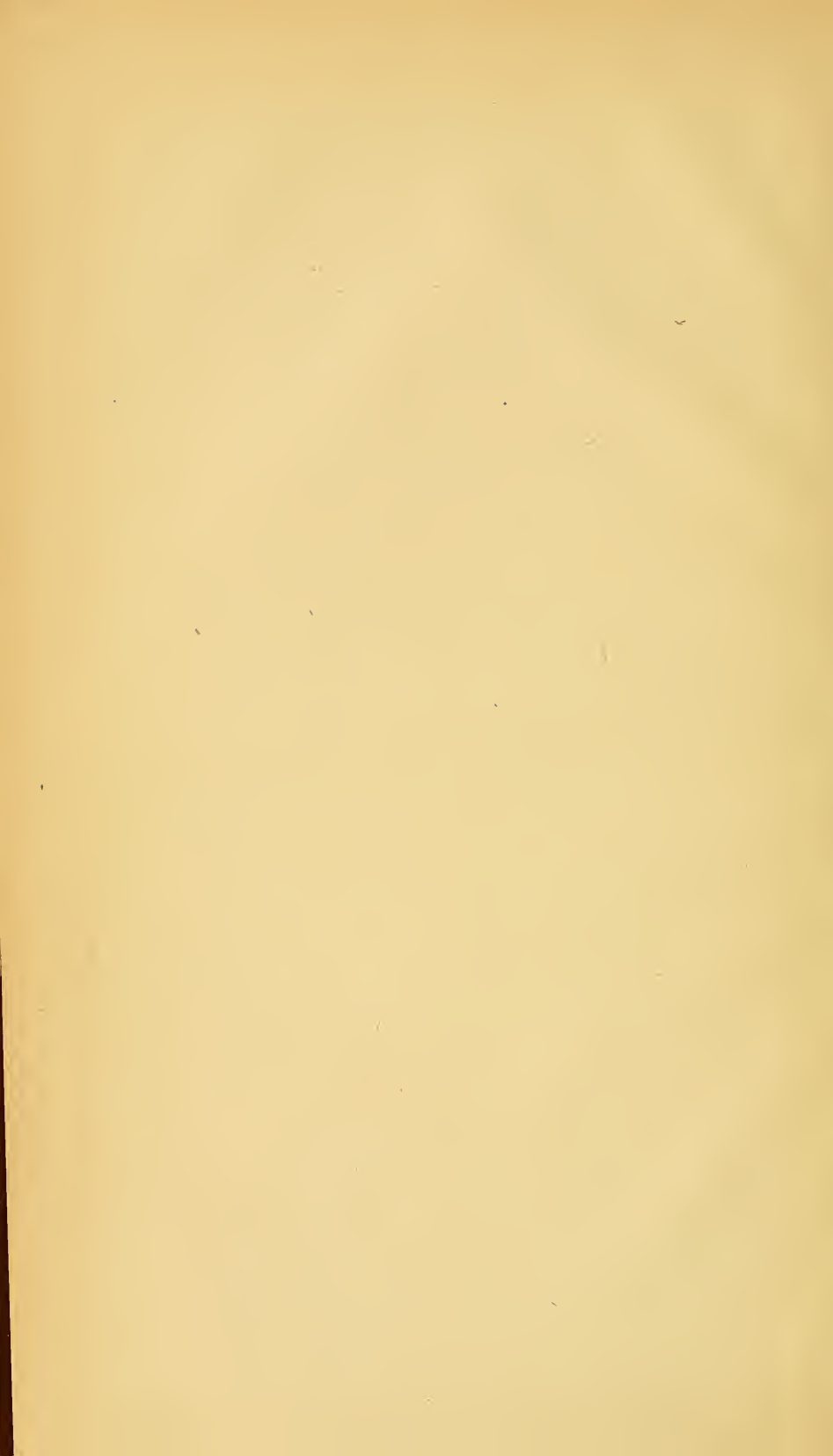


WEDNESDAY, JULY 4, 1986

BY

TIMOTHY WILFRED COAKLEY

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Timothy Wilfred Oakley

ORATION

THE AMERICAN RACE

ITS ORIGIN, THE FUSION OF PEOPLES; ITS AIM,
FRATERNITY

BY

TIMOTHY WILFRED COAKLEY

DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON
IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1906



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BOSTON
MUNICIPAL PRINTING OFFICE

1906



THE AMERICAN RACE

Its Origin, the Fusion of Peoples ; Its Aim, Fraternity

FOURTH OF JULY ORATION, 1906

BY TIMOTHY WILFRED COAKLEY

Men and Women of Boston :

The keynote of our jubilee is the intonation of a prayer.* By that token we invite the co-operation of Divine Grace to guide and further the purposes of patriotism. Our prayer is the avowal that national morality, like individual morality, is necessarily founded on religious belief. It is the sign of our assent to faith as the active principle of good works. By it, here at the altar-place where the patriots of old offered sacrifice to country and invoked their God, we record our perennial protest against the philosophy of doubt and denial, the ethics of disenchantment and despair, we make formal proclamation that all authority comes from the Most High, that human society is bosomed in the Infinite Fatherhood from which proceeds the all-brotherhood of man.

* Rev. L. B. Bates offered prayer. Master W. A. Corley read the Declaration.

Seemly and inspiring, too, is the accustomed choice of a patriot boy to quicken with the eager breath of youth the Declaration which is humanity's psalm of freedom. Youth, divine, contagious, all-transfiguring youth! From Thee we have received all the good gifts of time. Thou art the symbol and the savior of the nation. To Youth we owe the fire and fortitude, the brain and brawn and blood which made us free. In the deadly, foremost files of many a patriot battle line, from Bunker Hill to Yorktown, from Gettysburg to Santiago, Youth, sacrificial, self-forgetting, surrendered its inheritance of life to save for us, intact and undiminished, our legacy of liberty. All honor to Youth! Cherish, revere, protect and guide it! For it is the fountain undefiled from which the nation quaffs the very waters of life.

We are met to commemorate the birth of American institutions, to celebrate our political freedom, to glory in American achievement; aye, to cheer, frankly and fondly, for our country and its radiant emblem, the dawn-flag of sun-ray and sky-tint and stars. But with the ecstasy of exultation we mingle the measure of reflection, the method of research. Like the Romans of old, we take counsel together lest any harm should come to the Republic. We ransack the past for social meanings. We analyze the present. We cross-examine events. If much diligence and a mighty yearning could win for us the wisdom to foreglimpse, howsoever dimly, the future, happy indeed were we;

for no man better serves his fellows than he who, in the frenzy of prophecy, rouses his day and generation that it may prepare itself betimes against to-morrow's surprising dawn.

The lofty dignity and duty of drawing the lesson and pointing the moral of this day is my assignment, my privilege. Let me hope, Reverend Sir, that I have caught in some degree the devotional spirit with which these exercises were begun. Let me hope, young friend, that a spark of your sacred, boyish fire, has kindled my thought. Let me hope that there has passed into my pulses something of the moral voltage generated by the mere presence of that dynamo of civic energy, our honored Mayor. My words, stimulated by such influences, breathed into an atmosphere surcharged and vibrant still with the rebel memories of the Boston of '76, with the deathless eloquence of the unforgettable, heroic dead, may prove, perchance, not altogether unworthy of this occasion, of this gracious audience, of the patriot prospectors of the past who sought and found the traditional treasure-trove of liberty here on the hallowed site of Faneuil Hall.

FUSION AND FRATERNITY.

By a certain pseudo-scholarship it is held to be old-fashioned and flamboyant to dwell upon the pre-eminence and superiority of these United States. Yet shall I insist upon our nation's paramountcy.

My claim of leadership for my country rests upon the fact that we have developed here in America a race which is the finest expression, — the sum and flower of humanity. We are no fortuitous grouping of sundry, diverse nationalities. We are a well-differentiated, new, coherent, distinctive type. We are the American race, forged and founded in the fusion of peoples. Out of that fusion came naturally the fraternity on which we have confidently based and built the structure of our political life. We are destined to mould our economic life on no meaner pattern. We propose to ourselves no less an ideal than the political and industrial brotherhood of the peoples of the world. Because of the progress which America has made toward that universal brotherhood, I assert that she stands forth, indeed, the chosen and pre-ordained pathfinder among the states of the earth. I declare that the seeds of death are not in her; that she shall endure, unscathed by the ruin which has overwhelmed the kingdoms and empires of the past. I proudly proclaim to you that her institutions in their essential beneficence shall not perish; more, that she is called and sent of God to be the shepherd of the peoples, whom, nation by nation, in God's good time, she shall gather into one fraternal fold. Bear with me while I lay before you the reasons which compel me to the exultant faith that is mine.

Democracy has been called the rule of the people.

But this definition is merely derivative. It is born of the letter that killeth, not of the spirit that giveth life, for the spirit of democracy is helpfulness and service, not control. Democracy is the organized expression of the instinct of unselfishness, of brotherhood, of altruism, of inclusiveness as against exclusiveness, of fusion and fraternity as opposed to sectarianism and factionalism. Its aspects are as various as the activities of the vital principle itself.

Always it stands for life and growth, while caste spells decay and death. Democracy is an emanation of the eternal Godhead. It affects all forms of life. The cross-breeding of plants which develops a higher type is its humblest manifestation. The fusion of peoples, which makes inevitably for the improvement of man, is democracy in racial action. The process of suggestion and comparison, by which intelligence is raised and genius evolved, through the association of contrasted types, is stimulated by democratic conditions. In its religious aspect, democracy teaches the devotee that he should labor to save not alone his own soul, but the souls of all mankind. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." In those blessed words the philosophy of democracy is all contained. Politically, democracy is the denial to caste of the monopoly of government. It insists that the administration of the commonwealth is the common prerogative of the people. Economically, democracy means that creative labor is entitled to enjoy the

full value of the product it creates and that the production and exchange of wealth shall be ordered in accordance with the Golden Rule of Christ; that none shall take advantage of his brother-man, and that where custom or law now gives to commercial cunning license and leverage to strip simplicity of the wealth it has produced, that custom, that law, shall be modified till it conform with the law of God. Forever and always, democracy's essence is that love of one's fellow in which all earthly righteousness is founded. Let us defer, for the moment, the topic of democracy in its economic phase while we consider racially, politically, religiously, American amalgamation.

THE CURSE OF CASTE.

I believe that national success and national failure are more intimately related to the problem of race than our historians have disclosed. The family is the social unit. Upon it depends the continuity of human life. All that makes for the strengthening of it makes for the welfare of the nation and of humanity. If we can learn the secret of race, if we can divine those elements and conditions which improve the physique and the intelligence, whether through blood or association, we shall have found the key to the cause of the rise and fall of nations. I contend that this key is the principle of democracy in its racial aspect. The antique world never

learned the physical law which governs racial perfection in humanity, as it never learned the grace of altruism, which is the spiritual counsel of perfection. Strange it is that our ancestors, the breeders of flocks and kine, the horse-taming Aryan, the pioneer Kelt, the cow-keeping Greek, the shepherd Jew, should have failed to discover that the principle of crossing the strain, which they applied so well to their nomadic industry, was equally applicable to the breeding of heroes, to the nurture and growth of men.

The harmonies of tented Zion, awesome and resonant as the diapason of the desert sand-storm, are throbbing still in the Psalms of David. The thunders of Jehovah awaken yet their echoes in the souls of men. Still the lightnings of Sinai reveal to our spiritual vision the graven wisdom of the Mosaic law. The majesty of the Hebrew genius, the many-sided development of the olden Jew, warrior, poet, musician, statesman, priest—these were the very flower of fusion, the natural result of the blending of the Ten Tribes of Israel. And when the nation had crystalized, when the walls of exclusion had been builded high against the Gentile, when the race had become absolutely homogeneous, when the stranger within the gates was anathema, when the Hebrew attitude was typified by the proverb, “No good can come out of Nazareth,” the deterioration of the Jew was already under way. Not until, scattered over the face of the earth, the race was refreshed

with the new vigor that came from transplantation, from the splitting of the parent stock into diverse clans, through the influence of travel and contrasting environments, and from consequent tribal intermarriage, was the brilliant mind of the modern Jew evolved.

Inertia, stagnation, exclusion, repression, contraction, these mean for humanity an isolation which, howsoever splendid, is but the isolation of the tomb. The fate which overtook Assyria, Babylon and Egypt, the fate of Greece and Rome, the life-in-death which is the portion of India and China, will yet be summed up by the historian as the sequence of an organic, racial selfishness, of national submission to the curse of Caste. In its lowest form, caste is exemplified by the taboo and boycott of the savage tribesman. But the malignant influence of it is found in every nation where class is set off from class, where men and brethren are arrayed into hostile camps by racial, religious, political or industrial divisions which teach or permit the exploitation, through selfishness, of man by his brother man. This curse of caste has been with us from the beginning. It blighted the soul and branded the brow of Cain when he flaunted defiance to his Maker and excused the murder of Abel with the blasphemy, "Am I my brother's keeper?" All forms of caste are born of the selfishness which denies the keepership of brother by brother, of man by

his fellow-man. At last came a time when there walked One on earth who "spake as man never spake before." He brought to mankind the message that not in caste, not in tribal or clannish distinctions, not in the scorn of one's fellows, not in the decrees founded on racial hatreds or the arrogance of ecclesiastical faction is the Kingdom of God to be found, but in service to humanity. The parable of the publican, with its arraignment of the Pharisee who thanked God that he was not as other men, is an indictment of caste such as was never drawn by historian or philosopher throughout the ages. The shining gospel of peace and good will to men was the first formal promulgation of the principle of democracy, and for nineteen hundred years the world has been working upward through the night, progressing haltingly, painfully, yet surely, responsive to the leading of that Kindly Light.

DAYBREAK OF DEMOCRACY.

The rise and fall of the mediæval kingdoms will reinforce for us the lessons of antiquity. The decay of the olden empires was followed by an epoch during which the vigorous, young peoples from the Hungarian and Gothic forests and the steppes of the Volga and the Don, blending with the Greek and Roman populations which they had overthrown, modeled, through fusion, a new race which was to possess the soil of Europe. True, the nations built

upon it were destined to harden into the mould of caste, but the mould had lost much of its rigidity. Racial prejudice and national antipathy were still in some measure the order of the day, but the instinct of democracy was abroad, like the Spirit of God on the face of the waters, and its brooding would yet fructify the mediæval mass into spiritual life and order. A new force had come into the world, a force which is recognized in all the art and all the literatures of the feudal era. It speaks in the frescos of Michael Angelo and in the poetry of Dante. Both are informed with a nobler purpose than ever guided the chisel of Praxitiles or the pen of Plato. It exhales from the pages of Augustin and Aquinas. It transfigured with angelic meanings the lives of Francis de Sales, of Loyola and Xavier. This new force has many names, but it is one, as God is one. It has been called fraternity; it has been called sentiment; it has been called altruism. Perhaps its best name is sympathy, because sympathy means the bond by which those who suffer in common the ills of the flesh are united into fellowship with God. Europe had accepted the new dispensation which Asia had rejected. She still dragged the chains of caste, but those chains, marred and broken by the mallet which nailed a Christ to the cross of Calvary, could only retard, not confine, the progress of humanity. There was movement throughout the continent; there was

fusion of blood, comparison of custom, criticism of self; and the Christian Church, which had set the example of democracy in its own ecclesiastical constitution, was at work, leavening racial prejudice, teaching the Spaniard to regard the Italian as his brother, the Englishman to know the Frenchman for his fellow-man. Before the Christian era, in all the history of mankind, there was never a religious institution which was not hemmed about by the fence of racial caste. Born of the democratic Church, which saved for posterity and distributed to its contemporaries the literature and learning of Pagan Greece and Rome, there issued the institution of chivalry. The "Dark Ages" were, in truth, the age of nascent light, the daybreak of democracy. Out of their fostering bosom came the noblest ideals we cherish to-day. The object of chivalry was to succor the weak, to champion the oppressed, to cherish the grace and shelter the defencelessness of woman, to organize the sentiment of humanity. In the furtherance of these ideals, the consecrated knights of many hostile nations and diverse races were knit together in a companionship of virtue and valor. The sympathetic Don Quixote of Cervantes is a monument to the beauty of the knightly aspiration. The noble and humane genius of the satirist became enamored of idealism as he wrote, and the realist "who came to scoff, remained to pray" by the side of chivalry's grave.

THE CRUSADE OF COLUMBUS.

And then came Columbus. How prophetic of the future bound up in his apostolic personality was the man himself. He was the product of the blended strains, mental and physical, of all the ages. He inherited the spiritual vision of the Kelt and the constructive imagination which captained the Roman legions. A peasant's son, he was all compact of the kaleidoscopic life-elements that were fused in the Mediterranean crucible of the races. The mystic soul of the East had breathed upon him. The world-old legends of Sidon and of Tyre, the Corsair tales of the sea-going Algerians, he had learned as a boy from the skippers of the Genoese feluccas. The Gothic lust for the marvellous companioned the Roman in his blood. Beyond the farthest horizon, he sensed a horizon farther still. Here, to him, was but the highway to hereafter. He sought the discovery of no material world. He was a seeker after the Kingdom of Life. His one ambition was to unite humanity in the universal brotherhood of a mutual forbearance born of a common fate. He had conceived the sublime project of succeeding where the crusaders had failed, in redeeming from the domination of the infidel the sepulchre of Christ. For its accomplishment he needed the wealth of the Indies to equip the armies of Europe; and it was on this quest that he set sail from Palos. Great-souled

dreamer that he was, shall it be said that the end of his enterprise was failure? Or is it not wiser to believe that his quest is not ended yet? The idealist, the re-shaper, the man who dreams and dares, never fails, for humanity never loses the impulse which it receives from such as he. It is happiness that Columbus sails out in the West to seek. But it is a new and sublimated conception of happiness; not selfish contentment, but the well-being of the many. In his yearning we recognize the struggle to attain democracy, to quicken and vivify the faith in God and man whereby the world must live.

Christofero Colombo, Christ-bearer and dove! the ascetic monk of Rabida! Isabella, who strips herself of her royal jewels to equip the sailor's ships! Father Las Casas! the cross planted on San Salvador! the Sepulchre of Christ! What mystical symbols are these, eloquent of what divine, far-reaching purpose? For this Christ-bearer is the forerunner of a new order which shall unhand the people from the usurpation of caste and shall free religion from the alternating oppressions and patronizings of monarchy. Humanity is on the threshold of the grandest experiment in the moulding of racial types and social institutions the world has ever seen. The Spanish strain, itself, blended of Goth and Roman, Iberian, Moor and Basque, held in its composition all the elements which go to the development of a great race, and Spain was on the eve of her golden age. France had

grafted her various peoples upon the ancient Gaelic, or Keltic, stock, and had developed a brilliant and distinctive national type. England had merged her basic strain of the Keltic-Briton with the successive tides of Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and French-Norman blood. The product was a new and virile race. And now that the formative period of these great European nations had passed, what hope was there for the ideals of Nazareth? What prospect of the universal brotherhood of man? Would the peoples learn at last that exclusiveness and isolation mean extinction, and that the kinship of humanity has its basis in physical and psychological fact as well as in spiritual philosophy? Alas! the new nations of Europe were split into hopeless, factional quarrels and racial jealousies, even as their sisters of the olden day. But wait! America will yet solve the problem of peaceful fusion and tolerance.

THE FORGING OF THE AMERICAN RACE.

We have solved it. We have built a permanent and successful nation. We have founded here a "lasting city." We have done more. We have evolved the race of races, the American race. We are sprung from all the peoples of Europe. Mentally and physically, all were fused upon the soil of the New World, not yesterday, or the day before, but for three hundred years prior to the Independence

we celebrate. Ours is no narrow inheritance. Our pedigree is as long as history, as wide as humanity; our fatherland is mankind. We Americans have learned that the finest family pride lies in loyalty to the unborn. Our generation has been enriched by many noble strains, and we, in turn, shall endow posterity with the best blood and the best traditions of to-day. Ancestries are good things, and we cannot have too many of them. America has them all.

Let us glance for a moment at the elements which, upon American soil, had found footing and development during the three centuries prior to the Declaration of Independence. The Spanish, French and English divided up the Atlantic Coast; Florida, Louisiana, and what was known as California were Spanish. The heroic French Jesuits, Marquette and Joliet, the discoverers of the Mississippi, La Salle and his successors on the French frontier, led the way into the wilderness of the great West. St. Augustine, Florida, was founded by the Spanish in 1565. Walter Raleigh's English settlement in Virginia, established in 1607, was still a weakling when thirty families of Dutchmen from Holland settled New York. In 1620 came the Puritan Pilgrims to Plymouth. A Swedish colony was established at New Castle, Delaware, in 1638. The martyr Jesuit, Father Jogues, reports that he found eighteen languages spoken in the streets of New York as early as 1643. In 1690, thir-

teen thousand German Lutherans tented in the London suburbs until they could be passed on to America. Hordes of emigrants from all the principalities of Germany, including Alsace and Switzerland, followed at the rate of 12,000 a year. One hundred thousand Frenchmen and descendants of Frenchmen were scattered from the St. Lawrence to New Orleans a quarter of a century before the Revolution, not to speak of the large number of French Huguenots who were distributed through the original thirteen colonies. Emigrants from the north of Ireland in great numbers settled in New Hampshire and in southwestern Pennsylvania; they were the original pioneers in West Virginia and the Carolinas. Shiploads of Irishmen were exiled to Bermuda and to Virginia in the very earliest of the Colonial days. Another Gaelic strain was the Welsh, of which stock seventeen signers of the Declaration of Independence came. Scotchmen were scattered throughout the English colonies; and to complete the catalogue, Portuguese Jews had their settlement at Newport, Rhode Island, and were in time merged in the surrounding populations. It is a curious and instructive labor to burrow in the olden records where we find that the intermarriage of the peoples began almost with the inception of colonization.

It must be remembered, too, that these representatives of the various European races were picked men. The emigrant is always a picked man. He has the imagination to dream of a better environment,

the daring to forsake the haven of home. The strongest bird is the first to leave the nest. These early pioneers were dreamers and idealists; they were the best that Europe had to give, because they were brave and adventurous, unspoiled by luxury, simple, sincere. And they were pure, because they were so recent from the soil.

It is not surprising, then, to find that, after nearly three centuries of the physical blending and the mental development due to the reciprocal influence of type on type, there was existing, here in the thirteen colonies, a bond of human brotherhood which was to furnish the very fibre and vital warp and woof of the Declaration of Independence.

The old world prejudices and feuds could not avail against this sympathetic understanding between the colonists. The very motto of the national seal, *E Pluribus Unum*, symbolized this sentiment, this catholic atmosphere, this racial unity. It was not alone that one nation was to be framed from thirteen colonies, it was that Frenchmen and Englishmen, Irishmen, Welshmen, Spaniards, Swedes, Dutchmen, Jew and Gentile, had been welded into one. It was this blend, now of mind, now of body, now of both, which made possible the type of intelligence able to grasp the opportunity and to brave the test of revolution.

The Declaration of Independence was feasible because we had developed here in America, through

racial and social fusion, a type of mind like that of Jefferson, of Hamilton, of Patrick Henry, of Hancock, of Quincy, of Sam Adams, of Carroll of Carrollton; because, through racial fraternity, we had developed a social intelligence capable of merging all prejudice in the passion for truth, capable of welcoming and weeding the philosophy of the most advanced thinkers of all the races of Europe, and because we had inherited the ideal and world-fashioning faith which rushes into the void to face an untried terror, even as Ericson, the Norseman, Brendan, the Gael, and the Italian Columbus, with his heroic Spaniards, had challenged the universe.

THE ANGLO-SAXON MYTH.

So let us never forget that, before embodiment in word, the Declaration we celebrate to-day was preceded by the racial spirit which begot it, as thought goes before expression, as substance antedates form. American liberty did not come first; it came last. It was preceded by the American race. Let me repeat. That race was the product of the blending through three hundred years upon American soil of the blood and the ideals of Spain, of France, of England, of Germany, of Scandinavia, of Holland, of Ireland. Let your measure of Americanism be unstinted; let it be no less broad than the bounds which history in its final analysis will impose as the deliberate judgment of posterity. Let no man confine your patriotism or your joy in your

country's greatness by any sectarian or sectional or racial or religious tradition. Do not be misled by error, even though the error be embalmed in the text-books of the schools, nor yet by the accepted myths of press or platform; and if I call your attention to the chief of these, believe me it is with no invidious purpose, but because I recognize in the propagation of error a menace to the youth of the land. Beware of the Anglo-Saxon legend. It is not only an affront to historical truth, but it sows the seed of racial disunion. It revives the European régime of national antipathies. It is one of the myriad microbes of caste. I recall dimly, as one of the half-obliterated memories of my schoolboy days, the mental anguish which I experienced through gathering from my grammar-school history the distressing fact that everything that was good and noble, pure and just,—that all the ideals upon which the American nation was founded, that all the patriots of the Revolution, that law and order, liberty, decency and virtue, were Anglo-Saxon in their origin. I remember trudging home to my American fireside and learning from my emigrant father that I was not of Anglo-Saxon descent. In fancy, the pain of that moment is with me still; and against it I must set the salve of President Roosevelt's statement to the Boston Press Club, when he said: "Your papers call me an Anglo-Saxon. I never knew just quite what the term meant, but since I

am an Anglo-Saxon, I can define it now. I am half-Dutch and half-Irish."

I recognize and award to the English strain, to the Puritan and Cavalier, their honest portion of credit for the realization in fact of the democratic ideal. But the flat truth is that, of the blood that ran in the veins of the one million people who made up the population of the colonies in 1776, less than one-half was of English origin.

I wish to emphasize and promulgate a truth which history corroborates, but which has been popularly ignored. It is that our nation, by reason of its essential, racial extraction, is the legatee and repository of the blood, the accumulated wisdom, the ennobling traditions, the literary and artistic ideals, the moral impulses, of no one people, of no one European family, but of all the great tribal generations, Aryan and Semitic, which have left their impress upon the records of time. And I desire to lay stress upon the fact that this was true from the beginning. The debt we owe, racially and industrially, to the myriads of European pilgrims who have elected America as their foster-mother from the time of the Declaration of Independence up to the present hour, has been recognized because it is comparatively recent history. But the basic and fundamental race-elements upon which the structure of our liberties was first reared were in no wise different from those which have contributed to its mainte-

nance and its extension in these later days. Glorious, indeed, is the privilege of American citizenship; not because we have developed here an ideal state,—as yet, that is only in the making; not because we have achieved a measure of material success superior to that of our sister nations; not because our political institutions better embody the will of the community than any yet devised by the brain of man: but because we are the heirs of all the ages; because the Frithiof's Saga, the Niebelungenlied, the Cid, the Chanson of Roland, the Divine Tragedy of Dante, the Lusiad of Camoens, the Ossianic Legends, the folk-lore of Deirdre and the Fenians belong to us intimately, essentially, no less than the Arthurian epics, Magna Charta, Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Keats and Kipling. Well, indeed, may we quote St. Paul: "We are the citizens of no mean city!" In a sense far removed from that of the travelled dilettante's boast, may we announce that we are citizens of the world.

NEW WORLD IDEALISM.

But nobility has its obligations. It behooves us who take from mankind so great a patrimony, to give back to humanity a notable increase. It has been charged that we, as a nation, are lacking in idealism. We have been accused of a gross devotion to material and commercial progress. Our critics are in error. They have mistaken success in material

achievement for the denial of ideals. They ignore the eternal drama, the inextinguishable conflict between man and material nature. They forget that the conquest by man over matter is, in its essence, an expression of the spiritual striving of the race. Men live their poems before they write them. The heroism of the Siege of Troy preceded the Iliad of Homer, as the epic voyage of Columbus, the titanic victories of Grant, the Nestor-like statesmanship of Washington and the sacrificial toil of Lincoln precede their perpetuation in poetry and bronze. It is a significant development that the soul of the American people, which has taken on its characteristics through the fraternal blending of the peoples, has found its most significant expression in the inventions which have facilitated communication between man and man. The steamboat, the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, the Panama Canal, these are not merely material triumphs. They are proofs, as well, that we have preserved the faculty of dreaming grandly bequeathed to us by Columbus and the countless millions of heroic Europeans who risked the perils of the Atlantic to reach our sheltering shores. The American is an idealist by temperament, by spiritual and racial inheritance.

THE CASTE OF THE DOLLAR.

The commercial strife which deforms our community life is not peculiar to American institutions. It

has been handed down to us through the ages. The fact that, in the internecine warfare of trade, the American is pre-eminent by reason of his alertness, his energy, his constructive imagination, is due to the superiority of his racial type, and this superiority gives promise for the future of the land. It augurs moral and intellectual capacity to reform. For our nation, founded, as it is, upon the principle of fraternity, saturated, as it is, with the solvent of sympathy, freed, as it is, from the trammels of racial caste, of religious proscription, of political despotism, is bound to overcome, through the forces of altruistic public opinion, the evils which now make for inequality in our economic and industrial life. We have seen that democracy, which mingles racially the blood of the people, has produced, as one of the fruits of fraternity, popular political institutions. We have seen that it has levelled the walls of prejudice which divided religious sects and arrayed them against each other. Here in America the orthodox and the heretic, Jew and Gentile, worship in freedom of conscience with none of the rancorous bitterness which characterized the older peoples who flayed each other for the love of God. Racial freedom, political freedom, religious freedom! These we have realized in fact. Tell me, my friends, are not these achievements an augury and a pledge that industrial and economic freedom shall yet be attained by us? Of

the four great evils of the caste system, we have abolished three. There yet remains only the caste of the dollar, the aristocracy of ill-gotten wealth, the special privilege which has succeeded to the divine right of kings, the prerogative of profit, unjustly wrung from the toiler, now in defiance of law, now under the forms of law, but always by force or its equivalent, fraud.

The promise of our victory over the inequalities which now permit the exploitation of the many by the few in the production and distribution of wealth is contained in the splendid history of our past. In the olden days, the most profitable and privileged business upon earth was the governing business. It was controlled always by a close corporation, usually a family which assumed to hand down its kingship from father to son. Our first, great, economic advance was made when the people of our thirteen colonies took over by public ownership this government monopoly. The conservatives, the capitalistic class of the days of 1776, were shocked and pained by the radicalism of Washington and Jefferson and Hancock, Adams and Otis. They recognized in the public ownership of the business of government a menace to all privilege and monopoly. Twelve hundred of these distinguished gentlemen, the cultured and luxurious and conservative element of the day, sailed away with General Gage when his troops evacuated Boston and

established themselves in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia rather than endure the agony of living under free political institutions. Twelve thousand loyalists of the same type left New York for the same reason ; so that the hostility of the privileged to the abolition of privilege is no new thing. The very descendants of the patriot radicals of the Revolution, nearly one hundred years later, here among the conservative copperheads of New York and Boston, and throughout the Southern states, were strenuous and insistent advocates of the privileges of the slaveholder, and contended for the dissolution of our Union.

Always, let it be observed, that the man who fights for class and privilege insists upon the supremacy of the individual or the caste. Always, let it be observed, the forces that fight for democracy stand for the greatest good of the greatest number, for the principle of fraternity and fusion, as against disintegration and disunion.

We are on the eve of a new revolution. The issue lies with us. Young men, it is you who are to determine the destiny of our American state. Choose! Choose now, before your straightforward, unbiased judgment is warped by the ties of interest and selfish advantage. Youth is divine, because it is fresh from God ; because, as yet, the soiling impress of the world has not marred its pristine innocence, sincerity and truth. Will you ally yourselves, in the strife which you cannot escape, with the forces

which make for the cementing and upbuilding of society, or with the ranks of those who teach that each man's hand is foreordained to be lifted against his fellow, that the human race is incapable of perfection, of betterment, even; that the law of God and man, immutable, eternal, is: "He shall take who has the power, and he may keep who can!"

I ask you to elect here and now, in Faneuil Hall, because I feel that this symbolic spot, glorified by the sacrifices of the fathers who gave their blood to see to it that the monopolistic trust of government should not wring an unjust profit from the people, is a fitting sanctuary for your spiritual enlightenment. The question which you shall have to decide is whether the commercial caste shall be permitted to emulate the government trust of King George. It is but one of many problems which America is bound to solve, but it is the chief and most important of them all. To each such problem, apply the crucial, vital test: "On which side lies the advantage of the special privilege that is the essence of caste? On which side stand the interests of the brotherhood of man?"

SOLICIT IMMIGRATION.

Admonished by the lessons of the past, it is our privilege to increase the efficiency of the race by encouraging, stimulating and welcoming European immigration to our shores. The Finn, the Bohemian, the Italian, the Greek, the Russian, the Pole,

the Israelite, the Magyar, — Latin, Teuton, Kelt and Slav, we need them all. The wisdom of our statesmen will find the true policy to be not the exclusion of immigration, but the maintenance in Europe of national agents who shall solicit and organize as great an exodus as possible to these American shores. Thus shall our life stream be ever varied and strengthened; thus shall we escape forever the curse of racial caste.

THE DISEASE OF DIVORCE.

We have seen that, as “the proper study of mankind is man,” so, in the upbuilding of society, the proper function of humanity is to perpetuate, purify and ennoble human life. This means inevitably the conservation of the family. The family is the prop and pillar of all constituted order, the shrine of morality, the nursery of achievement, the bulwark of the nation. The clan is but a wider family; the nation, a more comprehensive clan. The first postulate of freedom is the freedom to form a family, to marry and give in marriage, to educate offspring in the family ideals. Woe to the people that permits the pollution of the family hearth. There is a canker that is eating to-day into the heart of American society. It is the disease, divorce. Its remedy, rather its abolition, is your function and your privilege. Divorce is a modern form of the debauchery which undermined the Pagan

nations of antiquity. It reduces the marital relation to the animal level. It sins against the spirit of fraternity, because it exempts man and woman from the obligations of self-respect, of reciprocal duty and of responsibility to the offspring upon whose upbringing and culture the future of the race depends.

MURDER BY THE STATE.

Respect for race depends upon respect for life. Life is sacred because it is of God. Wendell Phillips said that the worst use which can be made of a man is to hang him. There is a consequence of legal murder worse even than the loss of the individual life. It is the degenerating influence which, by the law of suggestion, is inflicted upon the community when a human being is killed by the State. Once the pickpocket was hanged, drawn and quartered, and gibbeted in chains upon the roadside, that the grisly horror of it might chill the blood of men, his fellows, his brothers, as they passed beneath the creaking corpse. To-day, we have progressed to that point where we realize that there is a suggestion of slaughter, more powerful than that of terror, in such a violation of the decencies of life, and, lest murder by the state should stimulate murder by the individual, we lock the executioner and his victim away from the public sight and the public ear. Let us pray that to-morrow we shall have abolished, not alone the visual example, but the horror of the fact.

Let us pray that both state and nation may soon be purged of the blood-guilt of capital punishment.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

Life, developed and refined by racial democracy, made comfortable by economic democracy, broadened and heightened by the liberty of democratic political institutions, protected and fostered by democratic freedom of worship, still rests and must ever rest for its moral growth upon the principles of religious belief. It is the duty of the state to see to it that those principles, subject to the choice and guidance of parents, shall be inculcated into the minds of the school-children in whom lies the hope and future of the state. It is the duty of every religious body that has faith in the validity of its message to mankind to insist on the religious education of its youth. The means, the method, are proper subjects for deliberation and debate, but the principle itself cannot be gainsaid.

THE PATERNALISM OF THE TRUST.

In the establishment and enforcement of reform, we must continually beware of the subterfuges and machinations of the upholders of caste. They have learned well the lesson which the olden Latins expressed by the adage, "*Divide et impera.*" They are able to conquer while they are able to divide. Under the specious plea of individual freedom they

mask the purpose of enslaving the community. But a conspicuous feature of the success which the captains of industry achieve is their ability to co-ordinate and organize their millions of wage-men into a coherent, effective, industrial whole. Suspect the capitalist who relies on national and even world-wide organization to achieve his selfish, industrial and commercial success, while he warns you, the voter, to avoid national organization in your aspiration for the best political and economic results. The centralization which is inevitable in modern industry must be just as inevitable in political organization, if we are to control the paternalism of the trusts and syndicates. But if we of the city can be taught to fear our fellows of the state, if the state can be taught to fear the nation, then, indeed, are we a house divided against itself; then, indeed, have we missed the strength that lies in union; then, indeed, shall we fall a ready prey to exploitation by the capitalistic enemies of society.

We have made strides. The shibboleth of home rule did not prevent a President of the United States from compelling the feudal barons of Pennsylvania to deliver coal to the people. The spectre of the divine right of competition will not prevent the American people from controlling the public highways which modernity now describes as railroads and railways. Remark the fact, for it is significant, that already the nation is undertaking to fix railway rates. True,

the measure is but a make-shift, a groping, blind and feeble, after righteousness; but it is evident that, in the words of our Boston poet, James Jeffrey Roche,

“The giant is blind, but thinking,
And his locks are growing fast.”

Clearly our American Samson is wide-awake at last. At least, the principle is recognized that the profit-seeking pedler of the products of labor is not exempt from all obligation to his fellow-man. The theory which has been the well-spring of the evils of commercialism, namely, that every man is entitled to exact his price and that the consumer may choose between paying and starving, bids fair to be relegated to the limbo of the divine right of kings. It is enough for the hour that the American people are aroused to the necessity of remedying the evils which flow from that world-old crime, the spoiling of the toiler.

THE FEDERATED BLOOD-STRAINS.

Ours is the race which, by reason of its heredity and ideals, is best equipped to lead humanity to the truth. The American people succeed to the privileges of chivalry. They are dauntless. They are dreamers. They have in a higher degree than any race on earth the instinct of comradeship, the saving grace of the fraternal sense. Fused in the schools, the shops, the factories and the fields,

where the Latin, the Teuton, the Slav, the Kelt, each, in turn, gives to and receives from his fellow, consciously or unconsciously, something of his native power, they have developed an alertness, an energy, a sympathy, which stamps them at sight. This is recognizable the wide world over. On the shores of Manila bay, in camp and on the march, I have watched the volunteers from Dakota, Idaho, Montana, Minnesota, California. One thing forever struck me, the unity of type. And this, too, when the racial blend had not been perfected, except in its mental, or social, aspects. The blue-eyed boys of Minnesota, yellow-haired giants that showed their Viking ancestry in their candid faces and their mighty limbs; swarthy Californians of Spanish stock; sturdy descendants of the German strain from the broad Dakota prairies; the regulars of the Fourteenth Infantry, recruited from the Saxon, the Irish and Italian race-elements in the cities of our southern and eastern seaboard — all were splendidly alike in gait and bearing, in initiative, in dash, in self-reliance, in fortitude. The ennobling spirit of American fraternity clothed them with a common atmosphere, as with a garment. They were unmistakably, distinctively, American.

To the making of heroes like these, perforce,
Humanity's federate blood-strains have gone;
But, Keltic or Saxon, Teuton or Norse,
Latin or Slav, they are Yankees of course,
For Freedom has fused them in one.

By such men were the battles of the Revolution won; and, within the memory of the living, the greatest war of history was waged by a kindred type for no less a purpose than the continued solidarity and union of this American race. In civic virtue, as in military valor, the blended blood-strain stands the test. The racial fusion that gave to us Warren, Sullivan, Steuben and fighting Jack Barry of the days of '76, that gave to us in '61 Grant, Sheridan, Rosecrans and Meagher, was the same that produced an Adams, a Faneuil, a Jay, a Carroll, a Patrick Henry; the same that endowed the nation, in the black days of the Rebellion, with the genius of Lincoln, Stanton and Blaine.

It still brews for us the strenuous type of public servant. To-day the nation has her Roosevelt, Wisconsin, her LaFollette, Boston, her Fitzgerald, and Massachusetts has John B. Moran.

THE QUEST OF THE IDEAL.

Shall we despair of the ideal of Columbus? In the eternal struggle between right and wrong, shall we give ground in craven retreat before the hosts of error? Not so. The woman of the Scriptures bewailed her loss for that "they had taken her Lord away and she knew not where they had laid him." Hers is the cry of suffering humanity the world over. Wherever the forces of evil, the votaries of caste, the enemies of fraternity, sin against our common

human brotherhood, there, indeed, have they laid our Lord away; there, indeed, have they walled within the tomb the vision of the truth and love that make us free. We are enrolled in the ranks of the crusade Columbus hoped to lead. We are embarked. We are confronted with the mystery of the universe and the dark that veils the voyage of the human soul. We challenge the Unknown. Watch! We outride the tempest. Mark! We have spanned the seas. We are making land at last. Yonder, yearning under the sunlight, lie the fabled riches of the Indies and Cathay. Utopia is there, and Eldorado, the Golden Age and the Paradise we lost. Reverently uplifted, we bear the cross, ready for its planting on the promised land, the blessed cross, symbol of sacrifice, pledge of fraternity. We touch the long-sought shore. We land. Upheld by the serene faith of Columbus, fortified by the world-soul which is our blood-inheritance, we win the ideal goal. Who, now, shall deny us? Who dares to say that we shall not yet gain and redeem the sepulchre of Christ?

A LIST
OF
BOSTON MUNICIPAL ORATORS.

BY C. W. ERNST.

BOSTON ORATORS

APPOINTED BY THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES.

For the Anniversary of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770.

NOTE. — The Fifth-of-March orations were published in handsome quarto editions, now very scarce; also collected in book form in 1785, and again in 1807. The oration of 1776 was delivered in Watertown.

1771. — LOVELL, JAMES.
1772. — WARREN, JOSEPH.²
1773. — CHURCH, BENJAMIN.^b
1774. — HANCOCK, JOHN.^{a2}
1775. — WARREN, JOSEPH.
1776. — THACHER, PETER.
1777. — HICHBORN, BENJAMIN.
1778. — AUSTIN, JONATHAN WILLIAMS.
1779. — TUDOR, WILLIAM.
1780. — MASON, JONATHAN, JUN.
1781. — DAWES, THOMAS, JUN.
1782. — MINOT, GEORGE RICHARDS.
1783. — WELSH, THOMAS.
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For the Anniversary of National Independence, July 4, 1776.

NOTE. — A collected edition, or a full collection, of these orations has not been made. For the names of the orators, as officially printed on the title pages of the orations, see the Municipal Register of 1890.

1783. — WARREN, JOHN.¹
1784. — HICHBORN, BENJAMIN.
1785. — GARDNER, JOHN.
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a Reprinted in Newport, R.I., 1774, 8vo., 19 pp.

b A third edition was published in 1773.

¹ Reprinted in Warren's Life. The orations of 1783 to 1786 were published in large quarto; the oration of 1787 appeared in octavo; the oration of 1788 was printed in small quarto; all succeeding orations appeared in octavo, with the exceptions stated under 1863 and 1876.

1786. — AUSTIN, JONATHAN LORING.
1787. — DAWES, THOMAS, JUN.
1788. — OTIS, HARRISON GRAY.
1789. — STILLMAN, SAMUEL.
1790. — GRAY, EDWARD.
1791. — CRAFTS, THOMAS, JUN.
1792. — BLAKE, JOSEPH, JUN.²
1793. — ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY.²
1794. — PHILLIPS, JOHN.
1795. — BLAKE, GEORGE.
1796. — LATHROP, JOHN, JUN.
1797. — CALLENDER, JOHN.
1798. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.^{2, 3}
1799. — LOWELL, JOHN, JUN.²
1800. — HALL, JOSEPH.
1801. — PAINE, CHARLES.
1802. — EMERSON, WILLIAM.
1803. — SULLIVAN, WILLIAM.
1804. — DANFORTH, THOMAS.²
1805. — DUTTON, WARREN.
1806. — CHANNING, FRANCIS DANA.⁴
1807. — THACHER, PETER.^{2, 5}
1808. — RITCHIE, ANDREW, JUN.²
1809. — TUDOR, WILLIAM, JUN.²
1810. — TOWNSEND, ALEXANDER.
1811. — SAVAGE, JAMES.²
1812. — POLLARD, BENJAMIN.⁴
1813. — LIVERMORE, EDWARD ST. LOE.

² Passed to a second edition.

³ Delivered another oration in 1826. Quincy's oration of 1798 was reprinted, also, in Philadelphia.

⁴ Not printed.

⁵ On February 26, 1811, Peter Thacher's name was changed to Peter Oxenbridge Thacher. (List of Persons whose Names have been Changed in Massachusetts, 1780-1892, p. 21.)

1814. — WHITWELL, BENJAMIN.
1815. — SHAW, LEMUEL.
1816. — SULLIVAN, GEORGE.²
1817. — CHANNING, EDWARD TYRREL.
1818. — GRAY, FRANCIS CALLEY.
1819. — DEXTER, FRANKLIN.
1820. — LYMAN, THEODORE, JUN.
1821. — LORING, CHARLES GREELY.²
1822. — GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN.
1823. — CURTIS, CHARLES PELHAM.²
1824. — BASSETT, FRANCIS.
1825. — SPRAGUE, CHARLES.⁶
1826. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.⁷
1827. — MASON, WILLIAM POWELL.
1828. — SUMNER, BRADFORD.
1829. — AUSTIN, JAMES TRECOTHICK.
1830. — EVERETT, ALEXANDER HILL.
1831. — PALFREY, JOHN GORHAM.
1832. — QUINCY, JOSIAH, JUN.
1833. — PRESCOTT, EDWARD GOLDSBOROUGH.
1834. — FAY, RICHARD SULLIVAN.
1835. — HILLARD, GEORGE STILLMAN.
1836. — KINSMAN, HENRY WILLIS.
1837. — CHAPMAN, JONATHAN.
1838. — WINSLOW, HUBBARD. "The Means of the Perpetuity and Prosperity of our Republic."
1839. — AUSTIN, IVERS JAMES.
1840. — POWER, THOMAS.
1841. — CURTIS, GEORGE TICKNOR.⁸ "The True Uses of American Revolutionary History."⁸
1842. — MANN, HORACE.⁹

⁶ Six editions up to 1831. Reprinted also in his *Life and Letters*.

⁷ Reprinted in his *Municipal History of Boston*. See 1798.

⁸ Delivered another oration in 1862.

⁹ There are five or more editions; only one by the City.

1843. — ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS.
1844. — CHANDLER, PELEG WHITMAN. "The Morals of Freedom."
1845. — SUMNER, CHARLES.¹⁰ "The True Grandeur of Nations."
1846. — WEBSTER, FLETCHER.
1847. — CARY, THOMAS GREAVES.
1848. — GILES, JOEL. "Practical Liberty."
1849. — GREENOUGH, WILLIAM WHITWELL. "The Conquering Republic."
1850. — WHIPPLE, EDWIN PERCY.¹¹ "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution."
1851. — RUSSELL, CHARLES THEODORE.
1852. — KING, THOMAS STARR.¹² "The Organization of Liberty on the Western Continent."¹²
1853. — BIGELOW, TIMOTHY.¹³
1854. — STONE, ANDREW LEETE.² "The Struggles of American History."
1855. — MINER, ALONZO AMES.
1856. — PARKER, EDWARD GRIFFIN. "The Lesson of '76 to the Men of '56."
1857. — ALGER, WILLIAM ROUNSEVILLE.¹⁴ "The Genius and Posture of America."
1858. — HOLMES, JOHN SOMERS.²
1859. — SUMNER, GEORGE.¹⁵
1860. — EVERETT, EDWARD.
1861. — PARSONS, THEOPHILUS.
1862. — CURTIS, GEORGE TICKNOR.⁸
1863. — HOLMES, OLIVER WENDELL.¹⁶
1864. — RUSSELL, THOMAS.

¹⁰ Passed through three editions in Boston and one in London, and was answered in a pamphlet, *Remarks upon an Oration delivered by Charles Sumner . . . July 4th, 1845. By a Citizen of Boston.* See *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, by Edward L. Pierce, vol. ii. 337-384.

¹¹ There is a second edition. (Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1850. 49 pp. 12°.)

¹² First published by the City in 1892.

¹³ This and a number of the succeeding orations, up to 1861, contain the speeches, toasts, etc., of the City dinner usually given in Faneuil Hall on the Fourth of July.

- 1865.—MANNING, JACOB MERRILL. "Peace under Liberty."²
- 1866.—LOTHROP, SAMUEL KIRKLAND.
- 1867.—HEPWORTH, GEORGE HUGHES.
- 1868.—ELIOT, SAMUEL. "The Functions of a City."
- 1869.—MORTON, ELLIS WESLEY.
- 1870.—EVERETT, WILLIAM.
- 1871.—SARGENT, HORACE BINNEY.
- 1872.—ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, JUN.
- 1873.—WARE, JOHN FOTHERGILL WATERHOUSE.
- 1874.—FROTHINGHAM, RICHARD.
- 1875.—CLARKE, JAMES FREEMAN. "Worth of Republican Institutions."
- 1876.—WINTHROP, ROBERT CHARLES.¹⁷
- 1877.—WARREN, WILLIAM WIRT.
- 1878.—HEALY, JOSEPH.
- 1879.—LODGE, HENRY CABOT.
- 1880.—SMITH, ROBERT DICKSON.¹⁸
- 1881.—WARREN, GEORGE WASHINGTON. "Our Republic—Liberty and Equality Founded on Law."
- 1882.—LONG, JOHN DAVIS.
- 1883.—CARPENTER, HENRY BERNARD. "American Character and Influence."
- 1884.—SHEPARD, HARVEY NEWTON.
- 1885.—GARGAN, THOMAS JOHN.

¹⁴ Probably four editions were printed in 1857. (Boston: Office Boston Daily Bee. 60 pp.) Not until November 22, 1864, was Mr. Alger asked by the City to furnish a copy for publication. He granted the request, and the first official edition (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1864, 53 pp.) was then issued. It lacks the interesting preface and appendix of the early editions.

¹⁵ There is another edition. (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1859, 69 pp.) A third (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1882, 46 pp.) omits the dinner at Faneuil Hall, the correspondence and events of the celebration.

¹⁶ There is a preliminary edition of twelve copies. (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1863. (7), 71 pp.) It is "the first draft of the author's address, turned into larger, legible type, for the sole purpose of rendering easier its public delivery." It was done by "the liberality of the City Authorities," and is, typographically, the handsomest of these orations. This resulted in the large-paper 75-page edition, printed from the same type as the 71-page edition, but modified by the author. It is printed "by order of the Common Council." The regular edition is in 60 pp., octavo size.

- 1886.—WILLIAMS, GEORGE FREDERICK.
1887.—FITZGERALD, JOHN EDWARD.
1888.—DILLAWAY, WILLIAM EDWARD LOVELL.
1889.—SWIFT, JOHN LINDSAY.¹⁹ "The American Citizen."
1890.—PILLSBURY, ALBERT ENOCH. "Public Spirit."
1891.—QUINCY, JOSIAH.²⁰ "The Coming Peace."
1892.—MURPHY, JOHN ROBERT.
1893.—PUTNAM, HENRY WARE. "The Mission of Our People."
1894.—O'NEIL, JOSEPH HENRY.
1895.—BERLE, ADOLPH AUGUSTUS. "The Constitution and the Citizen."
1896.—FITZGERALD, JOHN FRANCIS.
1897.—HALE, EDWARD EVERETT. "The Contribution of Boston to American Independence."
1898.—O'CALLAGHAN, REV. DENIS.
1899.—MATTHEWS, NATHAN, JR. "Be Not Afraid of Greatness."
1900.—O'MEARA, STEPHEN. "Progress through Conflict."
1901.—GUILD, CURTIS, JR. "Supremacy and its Conditions."
1902.—CONRY, JOSEPH A.
1903.—MEAD, EDWIN D. "The Principles of the Founders."
1904.—SULLIVAN, JOHN A. "Boston's Past and Present. What Will Its Future Be?"

¹⁷ There is a large paper edition of fifty copies printed from this type, and also an edition from the press of John Wilson & Son, 1876. 55 pp. 8°.

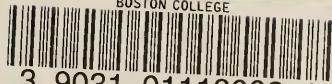
¹⁸ On Samuel Adams, a statue of whom, by Miss Anne Whitney, had just been completed for the City. A photograph of the statue is added.

¹⁹ Contains a bibliography of Boston Fourth of July orations, from 1783 to 1888, inclusive, compiled by Lindsay Swift, of the Boston Public Library.

²⁰ Reprinted by the American Peace Society.

1905. — COLT, LE BARON BRADFORD. "America's Solution of the Problem of Government."
1906. — TIMOTHY WILFRED COAKLEY. "The American Race: Its Origin, the Fusion of Peoples; Its Aim, Fraternity."

BOSTON COLLEGE



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